1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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stant dancing and singing, were rather dull and monotonous, considered as ceremonial. The gaily colored posts erected right on the grave served as a sort of central altar. Every senior male sang and danced in turn " his own dance" and the rest of the men standing in a large circle acted as a major chorus. A large gap was left in the circle of men and into this gap and out again danced the women in a disorderly clump, as a sort of minor chorus. Most of the day was taken up with endless repetitions of these individually owned and individually performed dances which had no relation whatever to death or the deceased, but which each "owner" used on every ceremonial occasion. In addition, there were a few ritual performances that were special to the fact of death, including the grand finale of every mourning ceremony, when everybody present, led by the mourners, collectively charged the posts and then roared past them into the surrounding bush. This was done to drive the spirits away from the grave finally and forever and thus end the mourners' state of *pukimani*.

We have no space for further details of ceremonial, but enough has been said to indicate that mourning ceremonies, the biggest collective occasions of the Tiwi dry season, were as much political affairs as they were religious occasions. The connecting link was the state of *pukimani* in which death put the relatives. Men in a state of *pukimani* were at a disadvantage in social and political life while that state lasted. They had to ask other people to do things for them. They had to "pay" for these favors. At the same time they could not afford to be niggardly in running their relative's funeral. If they were, they would never live it down. In such an atmosphere we have to conclude that the spiritual welfare of the deceased was relegated to a minor place and that for the mourners the real climax of the days of frenzied grief around the posts came when the spirits were driven away from the grave into the bush and thus their own *pukimani* state, which had been such a political handicap to them for many months, came to an end.

INITIATION Space permits only the barest mention of initiation, which was, along with mourning, the chief vehicle of Tiwi ritual. For females there were no initiation ceremonies, but for males it was a long drawn-out and elaborate affair, marked by successive stages or grades which began with the status of *Marukumarni*, which a boy entered when he was about fourteen, and did not end finally until he was around twenty-four. Here again we meet the ideology of debt and obligation. The group of men, necessarily older than himself, who initiated a youth thereby put him under obligation to them for the rest of his life. They "did something for him" and years later would bring it up if his subsequent behavior seemed to be directed against their interests. The obligations contracted in initiation, like obligations contracted at burials or mourning ceremonies, were woven into the kinship and influence systems; indeed the relation of a youth to the men who initiated him was often the beginning of a satellite-patron relationship that lasted half his life.

The initiation of a boy had to be undertaken by a group of men who were already fully initiated themselves and who stood to him in the relation of male cross-cousins. Preferably such men were either married to or likely

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MoBrSo to be the first husband of a girl is not merely a question of preferential choice; a FaSiSo is actually the only cross-cousin of the appropriate age to be considered as a party to a Type A contract.

As a first step, let us consider the expected relative ages of the principal parties to a Type A contract: the mother-in-law, the son-in-law, and the expected daughter-wife. A girl becomes a mother-in-law at puberty. For the sake of convenience we may consider this to be at the absolute minimum age of ten. A boy becomes a son-in-law at an age of not less than ten, and he may well be older than this. The minimum age of a Tiwi male is determined by his physical ability to hunt for and otherwise serve his mother-in-law in order to fulfill his part of the contract.

We cannot expect the future daughter and wife to be born, on the average, for at least five years and conceivably not for twenty years after the contract is made. However, again for convenience, let us assume that, on the average, the promised daughter will be born ten years from the date of the contract, i.e., when both the mother and the son-in-law are about twenty years old. The young girl will not become a cohabiting wife for approximately another eight or ten years, at which time her promised husband will be at least 28 to 30 years of age. Thus an average difference of twenty years between the ages of a girl and her first husband is to be expected—a difference which is dictated solely by the form and nature of the initial Type A contract.

Hart (1930: 282) believed that this twenty-year age difference was largely a result of the excessive practice of polygyny quite evident in his time (ca. 1930). However, in 1954, when most polygynous households had been broken up, an analysis of age differences for all primary unions for women in my sample still reflected the same disparity. Few men under the age of 30 had received wives, and only one girl over the age of ten had not yet been given to her promised husband. The average age difference between wives and first husbands was 18.9 years, with a range of from three to 54 years (Goodale 1959: 72).

I shall next consider the expected relative ages of parents, siblings, and the children of siblings (cousins). If there is a twenty-year age difference between husbands and wives, it logically follows that the same age difference will also exist between the mothers and fathers of children. A woman can expect to have children by the age of twenty, while a man will not be expected to have legitimate children until about the age of 40. If we assume that siblings are of the same relative age (there being a 50/50 chance that brothers and sisters are older or younger), then we can expect that a sister will, on the average, have a child twenty years before her brother has a child. Thus it can be expected that the FaSiSo of a female Ego will be twenty years older than she is, and that her MoBrSo will be twenty years younger. In arranging the primary marriage of a girl, it is thus virtually impossible that she be promised to a MoBrSo who by expectation is twenty years younger than she, and who indeed is

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582 probably not even born when she reaches the wifely age of ten. A
605 FaSiSo, on the other hand, is a cross-cousin belonging to the correct age group to be a party to the initial marriage contract. Relative age, therefore, determines that a Type A marriage contract, which is culturally universal for a woman's primary marriage and preferential from the point of view of male prestige, results almost inevitably in unilateral cross-cousin marriage between a MoBrDa and her FaSiSo.

582 The preferred form for widow remarriage among the Tiwi is to a
587 younger brother of the deceased husband. This type of remarriage contract stems directly from the Type A contract and may be considered a continuation thereof. It is therefore here classified as a Type A2 contract. As a woman grows older, when and if her Type A contract or its continuation runs out, alternative choices for secondary husbands are available to her, and acceptable to the Tiwi, among other cross-cousins.

582 A comparable method of analysis indicates that, as between the
[595] sons of a father's elder and younger sisters, a woman's primary marriage under a Type A contract is very much more likely to be with her FaElSiSo, and that under these circumstances she will probably enter her husband's household as a second and junior wife. Her elder co-wives play an important part in her education as a wife.

582 After she becomes a widow, however, she may become the first wife,
587 with the title of *taramaguta*, of a FaYoSiSo or of a MoElBrSo through a Type A2 or B contract. A MoYoBrSo, however, may be expected
593 to be considerably younger than Ego, and my analysis of all marriages in 1954 showed that only after the age of 30 do we find women married to husbands younger than they. Such a marriage can never be the result of a Type A contract but may occur under contracts of Types B, C, or D (see below).

Not only does the twenty-year average age difference between husband and wife under a Type A contract have the effect of practically limiting the choice among cross-cousins for a woman's first husband to a father's elder sister's son; it also means that a woman may expect to have at least two husbands during her lifetime. Indeed, she is likely to have a series of husbands whose ages relative to her own are successively younger until, as an elderly widow, she may well become the first wife of a man very much younger than herself.

Classification of Tiwi Marriage Contracts

584 The form and nature of Tiwi marriage contracts cannot be understood merely by looking at the results of the contract, i.e., who marries whom. One must also look at who has the authority to make the contract, who are parties to the contract, who implements the contract, and who can change a contract. Among the Tiwi the rights, duties, and obligations that pertain to all these aspects of a marriage contract are specified and reside in different individuals at different times in a woman's life. Here again the age factor must be considered, for while these rights, duties, and obligations lie in the